

Subject: L. Tolopko

His visits to Dr K1

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Source : as usual

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Subject's visit to Dr K1 on 30 Dec 1964, from 20.00 to 23.45 hrs

1. In the morning of 30 Dec 1964 Subject phoned Dr K1 and asked her whether he could visit her at her home. She agreed to see him same evening and they fixed his visit for 20.00 hrs .

2. Subject explained that he wanted to discuss the recent visit of Kolossova's group and the planned trip of Dr K1 and her friends to the Ukraine in 1965. According to Subject the fact that Kolossova's group was explicitly named "Ukrainian Intellectuals Group" meant an important turn in Soviet cultural-exchange-policy and was a concession to Ukrainians. Moreover, the group had a clear "green light" to meet Ukrainian nationalists abroad. In his opinion, this was the first step to be followed by others. Of course, Kolossova and her group were limited in their competences and could not discuss all political problems. For that purpose it was necessary to organize a representative group of Ukrainian emigrees to be sent to Kiev next year. The group will have the possibility to discuss there on the spot, in Kiev, all pertinent political problems and get proper answers. Neither the Permanent Mission here , nor Kolossova's group and those alike, could discuss and answer political demand of emigration. The group to be sent to Kiev must be composed of serious people who would know what they wanted and could skillfully present their case. It should also include a priest to be able to discuss the matter of Ukrainian patriarchate and the restoration of Ukrainian Catholic Church.

The trip should be arranged through Kolossova only. Kolossova is very influential and can do quite a lot. Levishchenko is dependent on Kolossova and cannot do very much. Subject would strongly recommend to maintain contact with Kolo-ssova only.

The trip itself will have to be arranged through ~~the~~ **SECRET** tourist. He thought that some reductions could be obtained by asking for change of normal rates.

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for instance, by limiting Inturists's care to breakfasts only.

Kolossova will give an assurance that nothing could happen to members of emigre-group. Beside the priest it should include journalists, historians, engineers and other professionals. Subject mentioned Prof CHUBATYI as the one who should be included in the group. He added that Prof CHUBATYI was his lecturer or teacher at one time. The group should be headed by Dr Kl.

3. Subject expressed his anxiety to do everything to help to develop the contacts between Kolossova and Dr Kl and her friends from the Round Table Club. Was she sure that those people will endure and not give up under the pressure of the rest of emigration - he asked several times. By helping Subject did not ~~mean~~ mean praising only Dr Kl and her friends in his paper but also helping them in their pressure on Kiev. Subject is ready, for instance, to raise in his paper such problems as negative features of Ukrainian education in the Ukraine, small numbers of Ukrainian publications aso. Of course, he cannot repeat demands of bourgeois nationalists but he can attack russification in a proper manner, too. Even better if Dr Kl's friends would give their articles to publish in his paper. He would gladly print them. At least, Dr Kl should tell him from-time-to-time what issue to raise, how to underscore it aso and he will gladly do it.

Subject is fully aware that his paper ~~xxxx~~<sup>as</sup> well as other so called progressive press is helpless as far as emigration is concerned. But he and his friends could help in exercising pressure on Kiev.

He added that they themselves ( the progressives) tried many times to convince responsible people in Kiev and here in the Mission that "things must be changed in the Ukraine". "But they don't want to listen to us". "They must, however, listen to you". "Moreover if we shall press along the same line". " We can always press along such lines as cultural and general national problems".

Subject was worried Dr Kl and her friens had no press. What about Dr LAPICHAK - he asked . Maybe he could help. Of course, no one knows what in reality Dr LAPICHAK thinks but his paper could become some sort of a mouthpiece of Dr Kl and her friends.

Subject asked whether Dr Kl wanted to raise him in his paper the problem of Ukrainian patriarchate. He added that he realized that sometimes their praise or sup ort in "Ukrainski Visti" would have only ~~the~~ derogatory effects... "And we would really not want to harm the matter of the Patriarchate" "We also realize that church policy must be changed."

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4. With the greatest interest Subject and his friends read "The Declaration of the ZP UHVR". There were many positive elements in it but unfortunately no logical conclusions and sequences on the part of the ZP UHVR were forthcoming. "They said 'a' but refused to say 'b'". "No further steps followed". Dr Kl replied that he could not say anything about the ZP UHVR as she knew too little about those matters. She did not even read "The Declaration".

5. Subject was very <sup>7</sup>critical of Metropolitan SENVSHYN. How could he co-operate that close with Zch OUN (Banderivtsi). Did he not realize how compromising it was for him? Subject can understand that they (Banderivtsi) have a strong organization but nevertheless the Metropolitan should not collaborate with them. Subject wanted also Kl's opinion on eventual changes inside banderivtsi. He personally thought that sooner or later there will be also a strong trend toward changing their present attitude to contacts with Ukraine. He wished it came pretty soon.

6. Subject was worried ~~xx~~ about his own group. "We are dying out, there is no one to follow us". "The only thing we can do is to help you now to increase your pressure on Kiev". "Our significance vanishes day by day".

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Subject's visit to Dr Kl on 21 Jan 1965, from 20.00 to 24.00 hrs

1. Subject wanted to stress how important it was to cultivate present contacts with Kolossova and to start thinking of a trip of Ukrainian emigre-representatives to Kiev. He knew Dr Kl met Minister Palamarchuk. Subject thought that Dr Kl should "use" the Minister to convey through him a Memo to Kolossova in which Kl's friends would outline their demands. In his opinion the Minister is only "an executive instrument" with no powers of decision in those matters. Those who decide are KOLOSSOVA, SHELEST, and PODGORNYI in Moscow. The trio is decisive in Ukrainian matters. LEVISHCHENKO and SMOLYCH can do nothing. If Dr Kl wants she could send a copy to LEVISHCHENKO. But this was of no importance. Subject has to admit that the whole project of new cultural policy towards emigration has been Levishchenko's. But Kolossova took it over and she will continue its implementing. She has power and money. Levishchenko is helpless and in case he would try to oppose Kolossova will simply liquidate him and his organization.

Therefore Dr Kl should maintain contacts with Kolossova. The fact that Kolossova took this project over, was quite promising. Whatever Kolossova does, is being done properly. As he understands, the emigre group will come back from Kiev with no empty hands. This is Kolossova's plan to send the group back home with "something substantial in their hands".

Again: Levishchenko has a secondary position, Kolossova is very influential maybe even will become a Minister, she has "sack full of money".

The group that will go to Kiev should also come <sup>with</sup> ~~with~~ a memo repeating same points. Dr Kl should be careful in choosing the candidates for the trip to assure that they all will put forward same demands. He is sure they will be successful. Of course, they won't get everything at once but some concessions will be made. They (in The Ukraine) have to make some changes anyway.

Dr Kl is now in very good position to put forward such demands. The people in Kiev pay very great importance to her and her doings. They think on her depends the whole policy toward emigration.

2. According to Subject there is a new tactic to be used against nationalist emigration. From now on not the emigration as such but only individuals will be attacked.

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3. Subject stressed that the answer to emigration's demands will come only after emigrants' trip to Kiev. They - in Kiev - don't want to do anything before the group comes to Kiev so that they could send it back "with no empty hands". Subject repeated it several times.

4. Subject knew about the new statement of Mr L on the arson in Kiev-Library which had been reprinted in "Svoboda". He was very critical of how this matter had been handled by people in Kiev. When he was in Kiev last time (summer 1964) he was told that fire-damage was quite small and <sup>all</sup> will be soon restored. The other people told him that the damage was tremendous and it will take years to restore the library. Officially he was told in Kiev that the matter is being now investigated and pretty soon full explanation will be published. "And now you see, "Svoboda" prints the whole matter and uses it against them (in Kiev)". "They shouldn't have done it this way". "But what can you <sup>do</sup>? This is not the first time we (progressives) tell them (in Kiev) they have to do things differently but they never listen and remain clumsy".

Subject will raise this problem again with the Minister Palamarchuk because his (Subject's) patience is really now at the end.

5. Subject thought that KOSACH Yuri informed "Svoboda" about Dr Kl's presence at the party at the Mission. He (Kosach) did it not as an informer but simply as a matter of fact. He maintains contacts with journalists and writers and they obviously talk about all kind of things.

6. "Ukrainski Visti" will write nothing about Dr Kl because this could only harm her.

7. When Dr Kl comes to Ukraine she should stress to everyone that she did not want to see any military installations and did not want to be asked about them. Subject does it always himself because he doesn't want to be implicated in such affairs. "I don't want to be a spy and you must make it clear to them too".

8. According to Subject there is now a group of Soviet writers travelling in the States. Among them is also a Ukrainian - ZBANATSKYI. Subject wondered if it would be a good idea to send him to "Svoboda". He wondered how "Svoboda" would receive him and what write about him. "Actually we could even send PALAMARCHUK, I wonder what they would write afterwards about the others talking with Soviet Ukrainians".

9. Subject asked about KERNYTSKYI Ivas'. What was he doing? Is it true that he was ill? He should go to the Ukraine. They will cure him and if he wants he can stay there for good. Vilde told him about it. Why should he suffer here?

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10. Subject also asked about Prof <sup>H</sup>CUBATYI. Will he come to Ukraine as member of emigre-group? He was a good historian, a man with reputation, and should be included in the group.

11. Since 1957 Subject noticed many changes in the Ukraine for the better. Particularly in the field of education Ukrainians ~~gained~~ gained great concessions. Also in the cities Ukrainian is being heard more and more. People talk more freely and are not afraid of police. He knows that further changes <sup>are</sup> in offing. They will come pretty soon. This is with what Kolossova wants to send emigres from Kiev back home.

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